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ABSTRACT

Recent studies of Mexican American youth in the Southwest show that they possess high aspirations for education and employment; like their Anglo counterparts, they want to finish high school and obtain academic or technical training that will provide a job with adequate salary and security. In contrast to these high aspirations, the 1977 census publication shows that the Mexican American population is poorer and less educated than Americans of non-Spanish origin. Almost 13% of the Mexican American families existed on incomes below $4,000, compared to 6.6% of non-Spanish origin families. Although discrimination contributes to the substantial wage differences between Mexican Americans and whites, low educational attainment is also a factor. In the Southwest, only 60.3% of the Mexican American youth graduate from high school, compared to 66.8% of the Blacks and 86% of the Anglo Americans. Low educational attainment persists in spite of millions of federal dollars spend on special programs to improve the education of Mexican American children. Many argue that southwestern school systems will continue to fail the Mexican American as long as the total socio-cultural environment rejects the Mexican American child, his language, and his culture. (JH)

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SOME DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND EDUCATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ON MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH

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The Mexican Americans are one of the larger and faster growing minorities in the United States. Once largely confined to the Southwest, they have now become a national minority. Large populations of Mexican Americans can be found in almost every state west of the Mississippi River. Smaller but growing numbers exist in Southern and Middle Atlantic States. Traditionally thought of as a rural minority, they are now largely inhabitants of urban centers.

Mexican Americans are also quite a heterogeneous minority. Among them exist diverse subgroupings that although sharing certain core values differ from each other in years of residence in the United States, racial composition, language spoken in the home, rural-urban residence, occupation, and degree of acculturation into Anglo American society. Most Mexican American subgroupings fall into two categories: the smaller one composed of descendents of Mexican Americans resident in the Southwest at the coming of the Anglo Americans, and the larger one formed by generation after generation of Mexican legal and illegal immigrants to the United States and their descendents. At the present time, the most important populations of the first category are found primarily in northern New Mexico, southern Colorado, and other Rocky Mountain States although many have migrated to the Pacific Coast, the Midwest, and elsewhere. Mexican immigrants and their children predominate in Texas, Arizona, on the West Coast and in the Midwest. Each of these major divisions among the Mexican Americans is still divided into largely unstudied subgroupings.

The heterogeneity of the Mexican American population is of course shared by Mexican American youth. Young Mexican Americans range from those who crossed the border a few minutes ago to those whose families have resided in the United States for many generations. They range from the unacculturated to the totally assimilated, and from those who are monolingual in Spanish to

others monolingual in English. They include young people in migrant farm labor, on the assembly lines of industry, in the professions, and those resident in rural villages as well as urban barrios.

Although important cultural differences can be found among Mexican American subgroupings, equally important cultural similarities exist. As few comparative studies of the diverse Mexican American groupings have been made, many errors have crept into the Mexican American literature. Kuvlesky and Juarez point out that:

> "Much of the earlier literature reporting conclusions from studies of Mexican Americans "found" supporting evidence for a host of stereotypes commonly held by other Americans toward this minority group... In the past it was generally accepted that one of the prime causes for lack of social mobility among poor or disadvantaged youth of all kinds, including Mexican Americans, is that they lack a strong motivation for upward mobility... Much of the limited earlier research on the Mexican American population usually based on case studies tended to support this type of interpretation... The conclusions reached by these researchers were widely diffused among social scientists and are still frequently cited as evidence in current reports about Mexican Americans." (Kuvlesky and Juarez)

Many of the stereotypes mentioned by Kuvlesky and Juarez had their origin in the impressive body of research on the Spanish American rural village prople of Northern New Mexico during the 1930's, 1940's and early 1950's. (A small sample of the rich New Mexican literature of the period can be found in: Calkins, 1936; Edmonson, 1957; Harper, Cordova and Lalervog, 1943; Kluckhohn, 1941; Laughlin, 1940; Loomis, 1941; and Sanchea, 1940.) Carried out primarily by rural sociologists and anthropologists, these studies focused upon the social systems of the rural Rio Grande Spanish American village systems just before these systems were drastically altered by the depression and drought of the 1930's, World War II, subsequent partial urbanization and industrialization, and village depopulation. By now the findings of these studies of rural Spanish American village systems under stress are dated and no longer

descriptive of the village communities studied. Because of the lack of adequate data on other Mexican American groupings, the conclusions and findings of these studies have been taken out of context and applied to Mexican Americans across the Southwest. To avoid such problems in the future, a comprehensive long range comparative studies program should be instituted to study the diverse Mexican American urban and rural groupings throughout the United States.

I would now like to discuss recent census data on Mexican American youth and then comment on certain selected aspects of their cultural and social characteristics. In March, 1977, the United States Bureau of the Census estimated that there were resident in the United States at that time around 11.3 million persons of Spanish Origin, some 6.5 Mexicans, 58.1 percent of all persons of Spanish origin. Puerto Ricans numbered 1.7 million, Cubans 700,000 and Central or South Americans 900,000. In the residual category, "Other Spanish" there were enumerated 1.4 million persons. I suspect that in the Southwest the majority of these people are of Mexican Americans in the United States considering illegal aliens and problems in enumeration may number from 7 to about 8 million.

According to the 1977 census publication, the Spanish Origin population is a much younger population then the non-Spanish. See Table 1. Around 42 percent, 42.3 percent, of the Spanish origin population was under the age of 18 years compared to 29.5 percent of the non-Spanish origin population. The same percentages for the Puerto Ricans were 45.8 percent, Mexican, 43.9 percent; Other Spanish, 42.6 percent. Central and South Americans, 36.9 percent, and 26.2 percent for the Cubans. It is interesting to note that the median age for the Spanish origin population was about 7 years younger than the median age for the non-Spanish category, 21.7 years compared to 29.6 years. Among the diverse Spanish Origin groupings, the Puerto Ricans had

the youngest median age, 20.4 years followed by the Mexicans, 20.8 years; the Other Spanish 20.9 years, Central and South Americans, 25.8 years and 37.7 years for the Cubans. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Populaion Reports, Series P-20, No. 329, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March, 1977, 20)

TABLE 1
PERCENT AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH ORIGIN POPULATION BY TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN AND SELECTED AGES, 1977.

Ages	Total Spanish Origin	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central or South American	Other Spanish	Non-Spanish
Under 5	5.1	5.1	6.0	4.5	4.7	5.0	3.1
5-6	7.1	7.0	9.3	3.8	6.0	7.0	4.7
7-9	9.3	9.5	10.0	6.0	7.5	10.3	7.0
10-13	4.4	4.7	4.3	4.4	2.9	4.1	3.9
14-15	4.0	4.3	3.4	3.2	4.1	4.3	3.9
16-17							
% under 18	42.3	43.9	45.8	26.2	36.9	42.6	29.5
18 and over	57.7	56.2	54.2	73.8	63.2	57.4	70.4
65 and over	4.1	3.6	2.8	11.2	2.3	5.6	10.7

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 329, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March, 1977" U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1978, 20.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR SPANISH ORIGIN AND TYPES OF SPANISH ORIGIN POPULATION IN THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES BY SELECTED AGES. 1977

Ages	Spanish Origin	Mexican Origin	Other Spanish	Non-Spanish
Under 5	12.8	13.2	10.5	6.6
5-6	4.9	5.1	4.1	2.9
7-9	6.9	7.1	5.6	4.3
10-13	9.1	9.2	7.9	6.2
14-15	4.4	4.4	4.4	3.6
16-17	4.2	4.2	4.2	3.7
Under 18	42.3	43.2	36.7	27.3
Median Age	21.7	21.2	24.2	30.2

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 329, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March, 1977", U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1978, 21.

The Spanish Origin population of the five Southwestern States, primarily Mexican American, is even younger than it is nationally. Thus, in this region the median age of this group is 21.7 years compared to the 27.3 years of the non-Spanish population. The percentage of the Spanish Origin population under the age of 18 was 42.3 percent. For the non-Spanish population it was but 27.3 percent. The Mexican population in the Southwest was the youngest component of the Spanish Origin grouping, 43.2 percent of its population was under the age of 18. It is through its high rate of fertility as well as migration from Mexico that the Mexican Americans are able to hold their own in the Southwest in spite of heavy immigration of Anglo Americans from other sections of the country. For the other Spanish Origin grouping, the median ages in 1977 was in the Southwest, 24.2 years.

The native born Mexican-American population may even be younger then these data indicate. If the majority of illegal Mexican immigrants who reside in this country permanently are in the age brackets 18 to 35 years, as seems likely, then they influence the age distribution of the total Mexican American population as enumerated by census takers and obscure the actual percentage of Mexican American native born under the age of 18.

The Mexican Americans are not only one of the younger minority groups in the United States and the Southwest, but they are also among the poorest. The median income of Spanish origin families in 1976 was $4,917 less then the median income of non-Spanish origin families, $10, 259 compared to $15.176. Among the subcategories of the Spanish Origin, the Puerto Rican families possessed the lowest median income, $7,669 followed by the Mexican $10,322 and the Cubans, $11,773. See Table 3.

Only 6.6 percent of the non-Spanish origin families struggled on incomes below $4,000 in 1976 while 13.5 percent of the total Spanish Origin families, 12.5 percent of the Mexican families, 21.6 percent of the Puerto Ricans; 15.4 percent of the Cuban families; 3.9 percent of the Central or South American, and 11.2 percent or the Other Spanish were forced to do so. While 50.8 percent of the non-Spanish population earned median family income of $15,000 or more only 30.1 percent of the total Spanish Origin and 29.1 percent of the Mexican American did so. The Puerto Ricans were more disadvantaged as only 19.4 percent earned that much or more while the Cubans, 39.8 percent, Central or South Americans, 33.3 percent and the Other Spanish, 40.5 percent were somewhat more fortunate.

TABLE 3

INCOME IN 1976 OF SPANISH ORIGIN FAMILIES BY TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN

Type of Spanish Family	Median Family Income	Percent of families with income below $4,000	Percent of families with income of $15,000 or more
Total Spanish Origin	$10,259	13.5	30.1
Mexican	$10,322	12.5	29.1
Puerto Rican	7,669	21.6	19.4
Cuban	11,773	15.4	39.8
Central or South American	12,199	3.9	33.3
Other Spanish	12,218	11.2	40.5
Not of Spanish Origin	15,176	6.6	50.8

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 329, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March, 1977," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1978, 11.

Turning our attention to the regions of the West and Southwest, we note that smaller numbers and lower percentages of Whites and Spanish Origin population, in their majority Mexican Americans, lived in 1975 below the poverty level in the Pacific Coast States. The Blacks in turn did better in the Mountain States then did the Spanish Origin grouping. See Table 4. The worst economic conditions among all three groups existed in the West South Central States including Texas. It is interesting to note, however, that in the most serious poverty category, the "below 200 percent" there were slightly fewer numbers and percentages of Spanish Origin population in this category in the West South Central Region then in the Pacific Coast region.

Data on median incomes earned in 1975 by Whites, Blacks, and Spanish Origin populations aged 14-24 and 25-34 have been tabulated in Table 5 for Whites, Blacks, and Spanish Origin population living in the Mountain, Pacific and West South Central regions. As one would expect, individuals in the older age bracket earned a higher median income in each ethnic group and in each region. Whites, also, in each region enjoyed a far higher median income. The Spanish Origin population in general were intermediate between the Whites and the Blacks who possessed the lowest median incomes. The highest median incomes for the Whites were found in the Pacific Coast Region for both age groupings. Those who lived in the West South Central area earned a bit more than those resident in the Mountain sector of the country. On the other hand the Blacks did better in the Pacific Coast followed by those in the Mountain Region. Blacks resident in the West South Central region did rather poorly compared to those living in the other two regions in 1975.

The highest median income for the Spanish Origin population 14-24 were enjoyed by those living in the West South Central States with the Spanish origin population in the Mountain region in second place. Curiously enough, the lowest median income among this grouping was in the Pacific Region. This finding is rather significant and contradicts the hopes and aspirations of young Mexican Americans in the Southwest who have always believed that life in "la Califa" is more exciting and prosperous then elsewhere. In the older age bracket in contrast, the Spanish Origin population, again primarily Mexican American west of the Mississippi River, had higher median incomes in the Mountain region with those in the West South Central region close behind. The lowest median income in this age category was found in the Pacific Region.

TABLE 4

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL FOR 1975 BY REGIONS AND ETHNIC GROUPS (Numbers in Thousands)

Regions and Ethnic Groups	Total Number of Families	Percent Below Poverty Level		Below 75 Percent		Below 125 Percent		Below 150 Percent		Below 200 Percent	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mountain											
White	2,416	197	8.1	118	4.9	288	11.9	398	16.5	667	27.6
Black	52	10	20.2	6	12,2	13	24.5	18	34.8	24	46.7
Spanish Origin	259	57	21.9	35	13.6	75	29.1	97	37.4	134	51.9
Pacific											
White	6,586	450	6.8	250	3.8	669	10.2	900	13.7	1551	23.5
Black	446	103	23.1	53	11.8	141	31.6	172	38.5	232	52.1
Spanish Origin	774	142	18.4	67	8.7	211	27.3	276	35.6	419	54.1
West South Central											
White	4,788	481	10.1	279	5.8	714	14.9	965	20.1	1527	31.9
Black	705	196	27.8	128	18.1	266	37.8	330	47.2	451	64.1
Spanish Origin	580	149	25.7	91	15.6	206	35.5	262	45.1	349	60.1

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 113, "Money Income and Poverty Status in 1975 of Families and Persons in the United States and the West Region by Divisions and States (Spring, 1976 Survey of Incom and Education", U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1978, 137, 143, 149.

Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112, "Money Income and Poverty Status in 1975 of Families and Persons in the United States and the South Region, by Divisions and States, ... 191, 197, 203.

TABLE 5

FAMILY MEDIAN INCOME FOR SELECTED AGES AND ETHNIC GROUPS BY REGIONS, FOR FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, 1975.

Regions	Total Number	Median Income	Difference between White, Black, and Spanish Origin Income
Mountain			
White			
14-24	200,000	$ 8,474	
24-34	604,000	13,596	
Black			
14-24	8,000	*	-4,567
25-34	17,000	9,029	
Spanish Origin			
14-24	35,000	6,855	-1,619
25-34	72,000	11,608	-1,988
Pacific			
White			
14-24	492,000	8,948	
25-34	1,619,000	14,371	
Black			
14-24	62,000	*	
25-34	126,000	9,219	-5,152
Spanish Origin			
14-24	87,000	6,049	-2,899
25-34	236,000	8,694	-5,677
West South Central			
White			
14-24	436,000	8,891	
25-34	1,076,000	13,085	
Black			
14-24	77,000	6,084	-2,807
25-34	166,000	8,607	-4,478
Spanish Origin			
14-24	67,000	7,189	-1,702
25-34	175,000	10,673	-2,412

*Data not available.

Money Income and Poverty Status in 1975 ... and the West Region ...: 61,67,73,133,139,145, ... and the South ... 197,193,199.

The gap in median income between Whites and Blacks was smaller for the age category 25 to 34, data not available for Blacks in Mountain and Pacific regions, the younger age grouping, in the Mountain Region then in either the Pacific or West South Central regions. In this region the Black median income of $9,029 was $4,567 lower than the white median income of $13,596. The income difference was greatest in the West South Central. In this region the median income for Blacks, $8,607, in the same age bracket was $4,478 less than the white median income of $13,085. However, in the younger age grouping of 14 to 24 in the West South Central region the gap was not as great; only $2,807 between the white median income of $8,891 and $6,084 for the Blacks. In the Pacific Coast region, the discrepancy between the Black Mexican income $9,219, in the age category 25 to 34 was $5,152 lower than the white median income of $14,371.

The differences in median incomes between Whites and Spanish Origin were not as great as they were between Whites and Blacks. The differences were again less in the younger age grouping. The smallest gap was found as with Blacks in the Mountain region. In the age bracket 25 to 34, the difference, was $1,988 between the Spanish Origin median income of $11,608 and the White Median income of $13,596. In the West South Central region for the same age distribution, the difference increased slightly to $2,412; the Whites earning in 1975, a median income of $13,085 compared to the Spanish region $10,673. The greatest gap in earnings existed on the Pacific Coast, $5,677 difference between the White median income of $14,371 and the Spanish Origin median income of $8,694. The pattern of differences in the younger age category 14 to 24 was quite similar; smaller in the Mountain Region, a difference of but $1,619 between the white median income of $8,474 and the Spanish origin median income of $6,855; a bit larger in the West South

Central, $1,702 difference between the White median income of $8,891 and the Spanish origin median income of $7,189; and worst in the Pacific Region where the Whites with a median income of $8,948 earned $2,899 more than did the Spanish Origin population whose median income was but $6,049.

In table 6, data are presented on the median family incomes of White, Black, and Spanish origin families for the five Southwestern States for 1975. For White families, those living in California earned a higher median income, $15,466 than they did in other Southwestern states. The White inhabitants of Colorado came next with a median family income of $15,102. The lowest median family income for Whites was found in New Mexico, $12,356. Those living in Arizona, $13,841 and Texas, $13,299 earned a little over $1,000 more than did the White inhabitants of New Mexico. Both the Spanish Origin and Black families resident in Colorado received higher median family incomes, $11,690 and $13,091 respectively, than either group obtained in the other states in the Southwest. The Spanish Origin families in Arizona although not doing quite as well as those in Colorado, did better than those dwelling in the other three Southwestern states. Their median family income was $10,717 compared to $10,066 in California, $13,299 in Texas, and but $9,396 in New Mexico. Among the Blacks those enumerated in Texas earned a slightly higher median family income $8,791 than did those in California, $8,734. Again for the two minority groups, those migrating to California did not do as well as those living in Colorado, Arizona, and Texas. Only in New Mexico did they earn a lower family median income than in California. It should be noted before leaving the subject that the Blacks did better financially in Colorado than did the Spanish origin population, $13,091 compared to $11,690. In all the other Southwestern states the Spanish origin population earned a higher median family income than did the Blacks.

Although discrimination is a factor in the existence of the substantial wage differential between Whites, Spanish Origin, and Blacks, other factors also are responsible. Among them are the presence or absence of government installations, the relative employment available in industry compared to agriculture, the presence of vocational skills, levels of education, and linguistic and cultural conflicts. The constant heavy migration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from Mexico drags down the median income levels of the Mexican Americans in the Southwest who compose the majority of the Spanish Origin population in this region. In New Mexico the median family income of this grouping is also affected by the large number who live in numerous small isolated rural villages still partially dependent upon subsistence agriculture. Both Mexican Americans and Blacks tend to be employed in low skill low income industries with rates of unemployment. For example, in April, 1970, the Mexican American unemployment rate for male workers was 6.1 percent compared to 3.6 percent among Anglo American male workers. For Mexican American women in the labor force, it was even higher, 8.5 percent compared to but 4.8 percent among their Anglo American counterparts. These rates would be far higher among Mexican American youth if under employment and concealed employment were accurately reported in both urban barrios and rural villages. Downturns in the economy affect the Mexican Americans far more than they do Anglo American workers. For example in the recession that began in 1974 and continued through 1975 the jobless rate for Spanish Origin workers reached 12.9 percent in the second quarter of 1975. (McKay, 1976)

TABLE 6

FAMILY MEDIAN INCOMES BY ETHNIC GROUPS FOR FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES: 1975

Ethnic Groups	Colorado	New Mexico	Arizona	California	Texas
White	$15,102	$12,356	$13,841	$15,466	$13,299
Spanish Origin	11,690	9,396	10,717	10,066	9,363
Income Deficiency	-3,412	-2,960	-3,124	-5,400	-3,936
Black	13,091	-	-	8,734	8,791
Income Deficiency	-2,011	-	-	-7,092	-4,508

Money Income and Poverty Status in 1976
.... and the West Region...; 99, 103,109, 164.
.... and the South ...; 223.

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, SPANISH ORIGIN, AND TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN, MARCH, 1977

Ethnic Group	Percent of Persons who completed less than 5 years of school	Percent of Persons who Completed 4 years of High School or More
Non-Spanish Origin	3.1	66.0
Total Spanish Origin	18.0	39.6
Mexican	23.3	33.6
Puerto Rican	18.8	30.6
Cuban	10.6	48.5
Other Spanish	7.0	57.9

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 329, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March, 1977," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1978:9.

Certainly one of the major factors responsible for the low median family income and high unemployment rates among the Mexican Americans is their low educational attainment. In March, 1977, only 23.3 percent of the Mexican American population 25 years of age and over completed less than five years of school compared to the 3.1 percent of non-Spanish population. Among the diverse Spanish Origin group, the Mexicans had the largest percentage of persons who had not completed the fifth grade. Among the Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Spanish the percentages were 18.8, 10.6, and 7.0 percent respectively. See Table 7.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported in October, 1971 that the gap in educational achievement between the Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans in the Southwest had narrowed a little but still remained quite large. They found that virtually all Anglo American students in the region were now finishing the eighth grade compared to 98.6 percent among the Blacks and 91.1 percent among the Mexican Americans. The rate of attrition begins earlier among the Mexican Americans and is more significant than among the Anglo Americans and Blacks. Only 60.3 percent of the Mexican American young people graduate from high school compared to 66.8 percent among the Blacks and 86.0 percent among the Anglo Americans. Among the Mexican Americans a mere 22.5 percent entered college and only 5.4 percent graduated from college. The corresponding statistics for the Blacks and Whites were 48.8 percent of the Blacks entered college and only 8.3 percent graduated compared to the 49.3 percent of White high school graduates entering college and 23.8 percent finishing. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971, 8-12)

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights summarized the educational situation of the Mexican Americans as follows:

> "In the American Southwest as a whole, Mexican Americans have the highest estimated rate of attrition among the three major ethnic groups before high school graduation. The loss also begins earlier among Chicanos. By the eighth grade ... 9 percent of Mexican Americans have already left school. At the time of high school graduation only 60 percent of Chicanos are still in school."
> (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971, 10)

A Mexican American leader testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in August, 1970 in Washington, D.C. is quoted by the Commission as stating:

> "The Mexican American has a lower educational level than either Black or Anglo; the highest dropout rate; and the highest illiteracy rate. These truths stand as massive indictments against the present educational system. As well, they are indictments of either negligent or intended homicide against a minority group. In essence, what this system has done is to smother the soul and spirit of an entire people."
> (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971, 8-9)

If, as Carter and Segura write, "The Most important institutional indicator of upward mobility and structural integration into the middle and upper levels of society is college participation. The baccalaureate degree continues to open the door to middle-level and professional occupations." (Carter and Segura, 1979, 49) Then few Mexican Americans even today are able to move upward socially and occupationally, as they do not have the entry level credentials. They point out that only about one third of the Mexican American students enter college. They are quite alarmed that there was no significant gain between 1968 and 1974 the percentages of Mexican Americans enrolling in college. Indeed, in some states such as California, the plateau has been reached and a decline has begun in the percentage of Mexican American students entering college. (Ibid, 52-53).

Many reasons have been developed over the years to explain the poor educational achievements of young Mexican Americans. They include the concepts of genetic inferiority and cultural deprivation. Carter and Segura argue that Southwestern public schools reflect the socio-cultural environment of the

communities in which they are located, and that it is the total socio-cultural environment of the Southwestern states that is responsible for the poor educational attainments of Mexican American young people. In reality, attendence in schools in the Southwest have not made much difference in their lives and rewards for attending school have been very small. They point out that the numerous educational programs based upon the concept of cultural deficiency introduced in the late 1960's and early 1970's and financed by millions of federal dollars did little to improve the educational environment of the Mexican American children. They argue that the only programs that have shown much progress are those that incorported bi-lingual and bi-cultural components. They end by arguing that until the socio-environment of the Southwest becomes less negative and rejective of the Mexican American child, his language, and his culture and demonstrates that education has its future rewards, the southwestern school systems will continue to fail the Mexican American children and young people. (Carter and Segura, 1979, 374-392)

In spite of the lower educational achievements of the Mexican Americans, studies by Kuvlesky and his colleagues indicate that the Mexican American youth of the Southwest do possess high educational and employment aspirations. They are not pessimistic about their future in the United States. Most of them seem to aspire to the same levels of achieved social and financial status as Anglo American youth. Mexican American young people want to finish high school, to obtain post high school academic or technical training hoping that it will result in a decent job with adequate salary and employment security. Kuvlesky and Juarez have argued that:

> "If, for most Mexican Americans, doors remain closed to adequate education and job training, high-prestige and secure jobs, and derivatively, opportunities to realize the American dream, one can predict quite confidently that pressures of various kinds will be applied to force open the portals of opportunity." (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975, 284.)

Anglo Americans in general are not aware that the affirmation of an American identity among the Mexican Americans was one of the most important results of the rather inconclusive Mexican American movement during the 1960's and early 1970's. The Chamizal vividly illustrates this fact. When this small section of El Paso inhabited primarily by poor Mexican Americans was returned to Mexico, their Mexican American inhabitants picked up their belongings and without much assistance from any government agency walked north across the new border to continue living in the United States. Mexican American young people have demonstrated their loyalty to the United States in every war in which this country has been involved since World Was II. Larger percentages of their young men fought in World War II, in the Korean War, and in the Vietnam War then among either the Anglo Americans or the Blacks resident in the Southwest. The basic question still remains. Before new militant leaders emerge with new programs that might capture the enthusiam of elements among the Mexican American youth what can the local, state, and federal governments along with private groups of Anglo American and Mexican Americans do to improve the social, cultural, and economic systems of the Southwest to satisfy the high aspirations of Mexican American youth. And as always those ghosts of the Southwest, the Apache, Navajo, and other Indian tribes and pueblos quietly watch the evolving intricate relationships between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans in this region.

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